

Sorin Ciutacu. 2019. *Causality and Semantics. Semantic Change in Contemporary English.* Timișoara: Editura Universității de Vest. 190 pp.

Reviewed by Claudia E. Stoian*

Thoroughly studied throughout the years, linguistic change has been discussed from several perspectives, such as historical linguistics (Aitchison 2001, Lass 1997), sociolinguistics (Labov 1963, Marshall 2004), cognitivism (Labov 2010, Reeve 2011) and structuralism (Anderson 1973, Williams 1976), to name just a few.

A frequent type of language change is the semantic one, i.e. any change in the meaning(s) of a word over time, including broadening, narrowing, amelioration, pejoration, bleaching, metaphor, and metonymy. Semantic change has been also studied, defined and classified over the years (Traugott & Dasher 2002, Ullmann 1962, Vanhove 2008). Semantic change also reflects socio-economic, cultural and political aspects that have influenced language. A new book on the market entitled *Causality and Semantics. Semantic Change in Contemporary English*, written by Sorin Ciutacu, contributes to the array of studies in semantics. It focuses on semantic change in English, providing examples from Contemporary English, also known as today's *lingua franca*. The aim of the author is to research for causality and its reflection in the semantic change of the English language. Causality is considered as "the amazingly intricate web of 'causes' which covers ultimate causes, conditions, motives, factors and mechanisms of change in a certain language" (p. 9). The focus of the discussion is mainly on Contemporary English, as indicated by the subtitle.

Well-organized, the book contains an introduction, fifteen chapters, a conclusion, a bibliography and three annexes. In the "Introduction", as expected, Sorin Ciutacu states his purpose and the specific steps he follows in achieving them.

Chapter 1, "Definitions of linguistic change. Different approaches" (pp. 13-21), sets the framework of the study by referring to the inherent nature of linguistic change and to its causes and conditions. Historical linguistics investigates change and the way language changes. Two models are mentioned, i.e. the structuralist replacive one and the translative one, whose outcomes may be identical, but their paths are not even parallel. From a philosophical point of view, linguistic change is "nothing but a natural state or an essential parameter of language" (p. 13). Within the same framework, the speakers are the ones that set particular trends and not the language itself. Before considering linguistic change into further detail, the author refers to language as a system of systems, based on McCray's model (1988), and to the interpretation of linguistic variation by means of mathematical analysis. As such, he rereads linguistic concepts as mathematical concepts.

Chapter 2, "Semantic change as linguistic change. Various classifications" (pp. 23-46), narrows the topic of linguistic change to semantics. Discussing what variation means, being either the cause of change or the result of change, Ciutacu focuses on change and its meaning according to Lass' theory (1997), namely that of loss, (neutral) change of state, creation, degeneration and progress. The chosen most suitable approach is the second one, i.e. the (neutral) change of state. As such, the author considers that "semantic change comes about whenever the speakers use a word to express a meaning which has not been expressed before" (Ciutacu 2019: 24), following Stern (1965). The author then presents in-depth and detailed classifications postulated by several important works on diachronic semantics. The most relevant classifications discussed are

* Politehnica University of Timișoara, Department of Communication and Foreign Languages, claudia.stoian@upt.ro.

logico-rhetorical (Aristotle, Sappan), genetic (Meillet, Wellander), functional (Roudet, Ullmann), eclectic (Carnoy) and empirical (Stern).

To continue, Ciutacu links semantic change to contexts and societies. Chapter 3, “Contexts and conditions for semantic change” (pp. 47-54) situates change within a context. Following Ullmann (1962), words are changed or actualized in five different speech contexts, i.e. emotive value, semantic range, shifts in application, polysemy and homonymy. Afterwards, the author discusses the conditions that favor semantic change, namely polysemy and language flexibility, language transmission and the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign. Finally, attention is paid to the Humboldtian principle and meaning change, which apostulates that one form corresponds to one meaning.

Chapter 4, “Semantic change as change in society” (pp. 55-64), emphasizes the well-known interconnection between words and society. It makes a clear distinction between artifactual and psycho-cultural words, as postulated by Williams (1976). Then, it presents, classifies, exemplifies and discusses pejorative words, euphemisms, slang, argot, cant and jargon. The author pays special attention to euphemisms, their domains, namely medical action, biological functions and diseases, death and rituals, professions, trades and social descriptors, politics and propaganda, and clothes, their coming into existence, and their link to speech psychology.

Semantic change is further discussed from various perspectives and theories. Chapter 5, “The theory of meaning change with special reference to Modern and Contemporary English. A late structuralist approach” (pp. 65-70), is dedicated to presenting three theories of meaning change, i.e. behaviorist, empiricist and structuralist, making special reference to the last one. Semantic change is then classified, according to the structuralist approach and following Williams’ theory (1976), into narrowing, widening, metaphor and shift. Ciutacu discusses the different types named with examples from Modern and Contemporary English.

Chapter 6, “Semantic change and the Prototype Theory” (pp. 71-75), focuses, in turn, on Prototype Theory and semantic change. The author starts by introducing the origins of this theory, paying attention to Rosch and Mervis’ studies in categorial structure (1975). Then, he discusses in detail the features that allow meaning to be interpreted from a prototypical, cognitive approach. Finally, he presents the features of prototypicality, and makes reference to cognitive semantics.

Another approach discussed in Chapter 7, “Hermeneutic explication (comprehension) and causal explanation” (pp. 77-82), is the hermeneutic one. According to Ciutacu, its essence “lies in the only *prima facie* presupposition according to which all the objects of linguistics, excluding their material, phonetic layer, are concept-dependent objects” (p. 79). Since linguistics is debated to be either a natural science or a cultural one, the solution proposed by various linguists is functional, somewhere between causal and rational explanations. Functionalism is further on revisited by the author. He presents, and discusses three main aspects of functionalism, namely natural selection, purposive selection and reinforcements of variants.

The functional approach is considered into greater detail in the next two chapters. Chapter 8, “How can explanations of language change be functional?” (pp. 83-93), introduces the dilemmas of functionalism, presenting two sides of the theory, as proposed by the “prototypical foe of functionalism”, Roger Lass, and “prototypical friend of functionalism”, Simon Dik. After referring to several functional explanations and considering the merits and drawbacks of this approach, Ciutacu applies them to historical semantics. He mentions various definitions of semantic change (Coșeriu 1997, Geeraerts 1986) and exemplifies four different types of such change, namely (i) the introduction of borrowed words for objects that are new in a given linguistic community, (ii) the introduction of new words for an already extant meaning expressed by a word, and (iii) the introduction of new meaning expressed by an already extant word, and (4) the acquisition of an old meaning by an already extant word. In addition, Chapter 9, “Functional Explanations in Diachronic Semantics” (pp. 95-103), focuses on the functional explanations in

diachronic semantics, paying attention to their status, which should contain potential changes. Several types of lexical meaning are briefly introduced, following Leith (1995) and Geeraerts (1986), particularly conceptual, referential or denotational, connotational or emotional, stylistic, grammatical, reflected, collocational, and pragmatic or discursive. The author pays particular attention to denotational, connotational and stylistic types of meaning. Moreover, he considers the history of semantics, distinguishing three important periods for diachronic semantics. These are the prestructuralist, structuralist and cognitive ones.

After presenting and discussing these different perspectives on semantic change, Sorin Ciutacu aims to search for laws that govern semantic changes and to formulate laws that may predict them. The variety of semantic change, its numerous fields, its rapidity and culture-specificity make this attempt difficult. As shown in Chapter 10, "In search of laws" (pp. 105-114), the quest for laws has been carried out by several scholars, such as Schuchardt, Wundt or Sperber, who identified particular dimensions. The directionality of semantic change is further discussed by the author, attention being paid to various studies done by Traugott regarding the phases of the English language. At the end of the chapter, Ciutacu emphasizes that rules are just broad explanatory tendencies, rather than perfect forecasts.

Chapter 11, "Further attempts to formulate laws" (pp. 114-117), discusses another attempt to formulate laws, that belonging to the structuralist linguist called Williams (1976). It then details his types of linguistic forecasting.

Chapter 12, "The algorithm of semantic change" (pp. 119-125), shifts the perspective from functionalism and structuralism to cognitivism, perspective carried till the end of the book. It focuses on two topics, the cognitive classification of change, paying attention to informational density, structural stability, flexible adaptability, semasiological and onomasiological mechanisms, and on the mechanism of semantic change as diffusion, providing examples for its four parameters, i.e. Time, Form, Meaning and Features.

Chapter 13, "Aspects of semantic change in Contemporary English. A cognitive view" (pp. 127-139), situates semantic change in Contemporary English from a cognitive perspective. The author, following Geeraerts's classification (1997), presents, exemplifies and discusses the denotational aspect of semantic change, namely specialization, generalization, metonymy and metaphor, and the non-denotational one, particularly pejorative and ameliorative types of change. Cognitive schemes are illustrated in order to share more light and guide the reader. Then, Ciutacu considers several words belonging to Contemporary English from the point of view of semantic change, such as *sophisticated*, *vulgar* or *gay*.

The last two chapters of the book continue the cognitive approach introduced so far and refer to idioms. Chapter 14, "Cognitive Semantics and idioms" (pp. 141-147), presents several cognitive models, indicating their relevance for the study of idioms and pointing out particular examples. Then, idioms are defined and classified.

Idioms are further analyzed in Chapter 15, "A cognitive analysis of some Contemporary English idioms" (pp. 149-161), attention being paid to the metaphors and metonymies underlying them. Numerous examples are provided.

Finally, Sorin Ciutacu summarizes his work, highlighting its main directions and emphasizing that language change is the core of historical linguistics. He concludes that "the English language has become the *lingua franca* of an impressive number of people who are responsible for its thrift and welfare" (p. 164). The conclusion is followed by an extensive bibliography. The three annexes, presenting several lists of new idioms, new phrasal verbs and related nouns, and old words with new meanings, come to exemplify in greater detail the issues discussed in the book.

All in all, the book *Causality and Semantics. Semantic Change in Contemporary English*, written by Sorin Ciutacu, explains and exemplifies semantic change, paying special attention to

English and the changes it undergone semantically. It takes the reader through a well-written, organized, interdisciplinary and captivating journey of linguistic change, approaching structuralist, functionalist and cognitive theories. The numerous and suggestive examples provided by the author, along with the extensive and complex lists included as annexes, help the reader understand better the complexity of the English language and the modifications resulted from its becoming the modern *lingua franca*. They also illustrate Ciutacu's linguistic and historical expertise. To conclude, the interdisciplinarity of the book under review, which relates historical semantics with philosophy of science, makes it a useful and interesting resource for a varied audience, from academics in the fields of Linguistics and British Studies, philosophers and historians to teachers and students of English.

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Seizi Iwata. 2020. *English Resultatives: A Force-Recipient Account*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. xx + 549 pp.

Reviewed by Imola-Ágnes Farkas*

The book under review here is the most recent volume of and addition to the *Constructional Approaches to Language* series of John Benjamins Publishing Company. Despite the existence of a large number of studies dedicated to the English resultative construction, the present book sheds light on the fact that there are still problematic aspects of these predicate structures which have remained unexplored but which, precisely for this reason, deserve special attention. These lesser-known aspects are summarized, discussed and analysed in twenty-five chapters organized around nine parts.

Chapter 1, “Introduction” (pp. 1-19), sets the stage for the stimulating discussion on English resultatives by stating the aims and scope of the book, and by illustrating the most representative lines of analysis of these constructions proposed both in Generative Grammar and in Construction Grammar. Although the latter approach (Goldberg 1995, Boas 2003) is claimed to be far more promising than the small clause analysis (Hoekstra 1988) or the lexical rule approach (Levin & Rapoport 1988), it fails to provide a satisfactory answer to two basic questions: (i) why can non-subcategorized objects appear in resultatives?; (ii) which resultatives are possible and which are not?. Therefore, the present book, relying on the causal chain analysis and claiming that in resultatives the post-verbal NP entity must be a force-recipient, proposes not only to dissect these two questions but also to account for many apparently puzzling behaviours of these predicate constructions.

Part I, entitled “A force-recipient account” (pp. 21-68), emphasizes the conceptual superiority of the force-recipient account over all other analyses proposed in the literature so far by demonstrating that the status of the post-verbal NP is crucial in answering the second central question mentioned above. In order to identify the constructional meaning of resultatives, the author stresses the idea that although three different paraphrases are possible for transitive resultatives, namely ‘X’s V-ing Y causes Y to become Z’, ‘X causes Y to become Z by V-ing’ and ‘X acts on Y’; only the last one can overcome the difficulty which intransitive resultatives pose. This is because only the ‘X acts on Y’ paraphrase captures the idea that the post-verbal NP denotes an entity that is a force-recipient in a conceptual scene (i.e. an entity directly acted upon). From this perspective, the defining feature of (English) resultatives is that, as a result of the force being exerted onto the post-verbal NP entity, a change of state (or location) ensues. Crucially, the proposed approach provides a unified account not only of transitive resultatives with a subcategorized object (e.g. *wipe the table clean*) and intransitive resultatives with a non-subcategorized object (e.g. *wipe the crumbs off the table*) but also of intransitive resultatives with no post-verbal nominal at all (e.g. *boil dry*).

In Part II, “So-called idiomatic cases” (pp. 69-130), the proposed force-recipient account is extended to two larger classes of intransitive resultatives with a non-subcategorized post-verbal NP, which are sometimes viewed as hyperbolically-used expressions with an intensifier meaning. On the one hand, VPs such as *laugh one’s head off* are shown to follow the law of force dynamics within one’s body but this is a hyperbolic force dynamics to the effect that if a body part undergoes a vigorous motion, it will eventually become detached. In addition, these resultatives exhibit a polysemous network category, where only the central sense follows the law of

* Babes-Bolyai University, Faculty of Letters, Department of English Language and Literature, farkas.imola.agnes@gmail.com.

(hyperbolic) “force dynamics within one’s body”, the other senses do not need to, as they are simply extensions from the central sense. On the other hand, VPs such as *beat the hell out of somebody* are shown to involve a causal chain, with the post-verbal NP retaining its force-recipient status to a certain degree.

It is shown in Part III, “Resultatives and domains” (pp. 131-187), that by combining the proposed force-recipient approach with a detailed frame-semantic analysis of verbs, a wide variety of result phrases of change of state and change of location can be accounted for. More precisely, the resultatives that the author takes a close look at are the ones built with *eat* and *drink*, the meanings of which are so rich and intricately organized that they cannot be adequately captured by a mere list of semantic roles. The analysis is sustained with resultatives such as *eat oneself sick/drink oneself senseless*, on the one hand, and *eat somebody out of house and home/drink somebody under the table*, on the other hand. The last chapter of this part extends the proposed analysis to resultatives such as *laugh oneself silly*, which can be characterized in terms of force dynamics and are therefore considered result constructions. The motivation behind this choice is that certain aspects of this latter construction can be accounted for only by reference to one of the domains found in resultatives based on *drink*.

Part IV, entitled “‘Change verb’ resultatives and how to accommodate them” (pp. 189-256), explores resultatives with change verbs such as *cut* or *freeze*. Such and similar constructions pose serious challenges to a unified account of resultatives as the proposed force-recipient approach cannot account for them in its initial form. The modified account thus relies on the fact that so-called spurious resultatives such as *cut the meat thin* must receive a minimally different causal chain representation than ordinary resultatives of the type *hammer the metal flat* as in their case the result phrase is not strictly predicated of the post-verbal NP. What is more, so-called weak resultatives such as *freeze the icecream solid* suggest that a result phrase-addition analysis is feasible. This part closes with a chapter on constructions of the type *swing the door open/shut*, which also behave somewhat differently from ordinary resultatives but can be given a uniform analysis under the proposed force-recipient account.

The discussion in Part V, “On the result component” (pp. 257-325), revolves around the controversial semantic distinction between AP and PP result phrases, with special emphasis on the difference between *to*-PPs and *into*-PPs. Interestingly, this problematic aspect of resultatives is linked, again, to the second fundamental question raised at the outset of the study: ‘Which resultatives are possible and which are not?’. In a nutshell, AP and PP result phrases are shown to be systematically different and their choice is neither arbitrary nor a matter of conventionalization. On the contrary, the proposed force-recipient account, combined with the notional difference between adjectives and prepositions, can explain the fundamental distinction between these two result phrases, which leads to some consequences that further clarify one basic characterization of these predicate structures in the proposed account from the perspective of the features of “direct causation” and “enabling of causation”. Also, the difference between the result phrases introduced by *to* and the ones introduced by *into* proves to be very interesting, with the contrast being reduced to reaching a goal on some scale or abstract path (former preposition) versus entering a container (latter preposition).

Part VI, “Still further issues surrounding adjectival result phrases” (pp. 327-382), addresses some further controversies revolving around AP result phrases. The author discusses the issue of the selectional restrictions on these result phrases with special attention dedicated to how the result state is brought about, the borderline between the concepts of “result” and “consequence”, the relationship between the notions of “maximal endpoint” and “boundedness” in both subcategorized and non-subcategorized (i.e. fake) object resultatives. The discussion on the individual verb–adjective pairs casts light on the idea that the selectional restrictions on AP result phrases should be accounted for in terms of verbal semantics and not from the perspective of the

scalarity of the adjective. Last but not least, bringing arguments against the temporal (in)dependency approach (Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2001), the author examines individual cases to prove that the discussion of temporal dependence versus independence, and the coextensive character between the verbal event and the change is an oversimplification. Crucially, in order to account for when and why the verbal event and the change of state are co-extensive, not only verb meanings but also the nature of the result phrase need to be taken into account. This is important as, contrary to the widely held assumption in the literature on resultatives, these constructions may be not only atelic but also stative.

Part VII, “Resultatives that are not based on force-transmission” (pp. 383-428), turns to two larger classes of resultatives that cannot be accommodated by the force-recipient account. First, expressions with the PP *to victory* (e.g. *ride the horse to victory*), other *to*-PPs such as *to success/to fame, to exhaustion, to safety, to freedom* as well as expressions related to the visual field (*out of sight, into view*, etc.) are claimed to be different types of resultatives and therefore not based on force-transmission. That they violate Levin & Rappaport Hovav’s (1995) Direct Object Restriction is intimately connected with the fact that the referent of the post-verbal nominal is not a force-recipient responsible for bringing about the change of state, it does not undergo change and hence it is not the nominal the result phrase is or can be predicated of. Second, resultatives with the AP *free* (e.g. *wiggle free*), contrary to the claims made in the previous literature, are argued not to be resultatives which are not based on force-transmission.

Part VIII, “Putative resultatives” (pp. 429-483), examines another classic counter-example to the Direct Object Restriction, where the result phrase is consistently predicated of the subject and never of the object. These are the so-called putative resultatives such as *follow the star out of Bethlehem* (with a verb of motion) and *rumble through the tunnel* (with a verb of sound emission). The author claims that these VPs do not conform to the ordinary pattern of resultatives and to their basic characterization in terms of force-transmission because they are simply not resultatives. Although the author draws an interesting parallel between result phrases and path PPs that further specify or lexicalize the entailed change of state (e.g. *freeze solid*) and the entailed change of location, respectively (e.g. *follow somebody into the library, disappear down the road*), he stresses the idea that whereas the former may be characterized as a type of resultative, the latter cannot; instead, it should be treated like a motion sentence with an ordinary path PP, with the path bearing no result relation to the motion event. In a similar way, verbs of sound emission followed by a path PP are shown to be not very distinct from verbs of manner of motion followed by the same type of complement. Irrespective of their type (motion-describing or motion-induced), they are both instances of simple motion and not caused-motion sentences. They contrast sharply with verbs of sound emission followed by *open* or *shut*, which are considered canonical instances of resultative. This immediately calls for a reconsideration of the parallel between change of state and change of location, with the author adopting the term “resultative caused-motion” (p. 480) instead of labels such as “spatial resultative” (p. 482) or “path resultative” (p. 482). Clearly, what is at issue here is what is meant by a resultative construction and a result predicate, and how much the research intends to go beyond canonical transitive resultatives such as *hammer the metal flat*.

Part IX, entitled “Still another putative constraint” (pp. 485-529), discusses the Unique Path Constraint (Goldberg 1991, 1995). The starting point for the discussion is the observation that – contrary to PP result phrases, which denote literal paths or goals – AP result phrases denote states and not (metaphorical) paths or goals, hence they are not subject to the above constraint. Consequently, the co-occurrence of an AP and a PP result phrase (e.g. **kick somebody black and blue out of the room*) is to be accounted for in terms of the co-occurrence restriction on more than one result phrase not more than one path. In addition, the combination of the result phrase *black and blue* and the path phrase *out of the room* cannot be plausibly made sense of simply because this combination is not available in English. In addition, combinations of change-of-location verbs

and result phrases (e.g. **carry somebody giddy*) are ruled out because no force is involved in the change of location that is responsible for bringing about the change of state in question. Before rounding off this part with a brief summary and conclusion, the author dedicates one chapter to expressions with the PP *to one's death*, which is not considered a result phrase.

The book closes with "References" (531-542), "Sources" (543), "Index of constructions" (545), and "Subject index" (547-549).

Resultative constructions – especially in English – have been in the centre of a wide variety of discussions and debates for a remarkably extended period of time. They have occupied a prominent place in linguistic theory, raising important questions for syntax, semantics, lexical syntax, lexical semantics, event structure, and aspectual structure. In addition, they have been the focus of much research from the perspective of both Generative Grammar and Construction Grammar. Proof of this is the considerable literature and extensive work bearing on them. Consequently, the question arises as to whether there are still unresolved problems or issues left that can be addressed and discussed at such a great length that the research will eventually culminate in a book that focuses only on English data. The book under review here, exploring the possibilities of a force-recipient account, demonstrates that a number of apparently puzzling facts concerning these constructions in this language can indeed be accounted for along the lines of this account.

Undoubtedly, one of the most outstanding merits of the book is the attention devoted to less canonical, even highly neglected constructions or verbal expressions with a resultative semantics. It becomes evident after the first few pages that the present research intends to go beyond canonical transitive resultatives like *hammer the metal flat*.

Another point involves the vast quantity of examples carefully selected from the three online corpora: BNC, WB and COCA, completed with carefully elaborated statistical tables summarizing the number of occurrences of a certain result phrase with a specific verb in a given corpus. It is precisely due to these attested examples and case studies that several of the previous – seemingly strong and compelling – arguments can be rejected, completed or refined, and numerous new arguments can be advanced in this research.

In conclusion, this book is a welcome addition to the large body of research dedicated to English resultative constructions. It will definitely attract the attention of construction grammarians and, as it opens new lines of research, it will hopefully encourage and stimulate future investigations into these predicate structures.

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Peter Trudgill. 2020. *Millennia of Language Change. Sociolinguistic Studies in Deep Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 164 p.

Reviewed by Costin-Valentin Oancea*

Millennia of Language Change. Sociolinguistic Studies in Deep Historical Linguistics actually represents a collection of Peter Trudgill's most seminal articles and tackles the topic of sociolinguistics and language change across historical millennia. The book is divided into eight chapters, which explore issues in historical linguistics, sociolinguistics, dialectology, linguistic typology, language change and language contact.

The volume starts with a "Prologue" (pp. 1-6) in which the author describes the aims of the book and provides a brief description of each chapter.

Chapter 1, "Prehistoric sociolinguistics and the Uniformitarian Hypothesis: What were Stone-Age languages like?" (pp. 7-16), starts with a discussion of the *uniformitarian principle*, according to which "knowledge of processes that operated in the past can be inferred by observing ongoing processes in the present" (p. 7). Trudgill points out that the Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic societies were very different from present-day societies in several ways: Palaeolithic and Neolithic societies are considered to be face-to-face societies, while present-day society is characterized as at-a-distance society, or in Givón's (1979: 287) terms "societies of intimates." The second part of this chapter discusses, at length, caution-inducing features, which are divided into: linguistic features due to arbitrary human invention; linguistic features due to non-anonymity; linguistic features due to non-optimality; linguistic features due to dense social networks; linguistic features due to communally shared information. In each case examples are provided from a wide variety of ("exotic") languages.

Chapter 2, "From Ancient Greek to Comanche: On many millennia of complexification" (pp. 17-36), introduces the concept of sociolinguistic typology, research which "attempts to apply sociolinguistic data and insight to the study of the typology of the world's languages." The author's goal is to investigate whether the typological features of the world's languages are influenced by the sociolinguistic factors (social structure, social organization) of the communities in which they are used. Several case studies are presented, for instance, Dutch, with a focus on the Southern African language Afrikaans. Concepts such as "simplification" and "complexification" are brought into discussion, with regard to the development of Afrikaans. Trudgill posits that Afrikaans underwent simplification due to language contact with indigenous and other languages in Southern Africa (Roberge 1995), a phenomenon which has not been experienced by other varieties of Dutch.

Chapter 3, "First-millennium England: A tale of two copulas" (pp. 37-50), deals with the structures of several modern western European languages in the sense that they preserved some aspects from Proto-Vasconic. The author compares Proto-Germanic, which had only one copula, with Proto-Celtic which seems to have had two copulas, with meanings like those of modern Spanish and Portuguese, where the verb *ser* is used habitually and *estar* is non-habitual (or temporary). The discussion then moves to Latin-Celtic contact in Lowland England, stressing the importance of Latin and the rise of British Vulgar Latin. The latter continued to be used by Romanised Celts and, according to Schrijver (2002) it was used by the Celts as a native language or second-language lingua franca. Trudgill also talks about the two different copulas *wesan* and *beon* in Old English, which is unique in Germanic. It appears that there was a period, probably

* "Ovidius" University of Constanța, Department of Modern Languages and Literatures and Communication Sciences, oancea_costin@yahoo.com.

during the 6th and 7th centuries when there were three languages spoken in England which used the two-copula system: Brittonic/Late British, British Latin/Northwestern Romance and Old English.

Chapter 4, “The first three thousand years: Contact in prehistoric and early historic English” (pp. 51-66) continues the discussion started in the previous chapter, namely that the structure of English appears to have been influenced by speakers of Celtic languages due to language contact situations. Trudgill also tackles the concepts of simplification (the growth in Germanic of weak dental preterites, as opposed to the Indo-European strong verbs of the type *sing-sang-sung*) and complexification (contact with Brittonic was the “culprit” for additive complexification in Old English). Another interesting claim highlighted in this chapter is that of Poussa (1982: 84), who states that “contact with Old Scandinavian was responsible for the fundamental changes which took place between standard literary Old English and Chancery Standard English, such as the loss of grammatical gender and the extreme simplification of inflections.” The chapter ends with a discussion of the very intriguing hypothesis put forward by Bailey and Maroldt (1997), who posit that Middle English was in fact a creole which developed as a result of contact and interaction between English and Norman French.

Chapter 5, “Verner’s Law, Germanic dialects and the English dialect ‘default singulars’” (pp. 67-76), opens with a discussion of the occurrence of the plural ‘was’ as in *we was, you was, they was*. Adger & Smith (2005: 15) note that this occurrence was one of the most common features of vernacular dialects of English. Trudgill then presents Verner’s Law (a sound change which occurred between 2000 BC and 500 BC, which led to the voicing of voiceless fricatives in voiced environments after unstressed syllables). The last part of the chapter focuses on s/r alternation, with a special emphasis on *r*-generalisation in English dialects.

In Chapter 6, “Deep into the Pacific: The Austronesian migrations and the linguistic consequences of isolation” (pp. 77-88), the author scrutinises the Austronesian languages both geographically as well as chronologically. An impressive number of phonological developments occurred in this language family, with Proto-Austronesian having had 23 consonants and Hawai’ian only 8 consonants. The author then discusses several possible sociolinguistic accounts for this simplification process. A possible explanation might be that this simplification process was due to contact and isolation of several communities in the Pacific. Isolation and small community size can lead to the development of unusual phonological systems: i.e. such systems can be either very small (see the case of Maori and Hawai’ian), or very large (the case of !Xu~).

Chapter 7, “The Hellenistic koiné 320 BC to 550 AD and its Medieval and Early Modern congeners” (pp. 89-101), starts with an analysis of the two fallacies that are mentioned in the literature regarding colonial varieties (the English of the USA, the French of Canada, the Portuguese of Brazil and the Spanish of Argentina). The first one, the monogenesis fallacy, includes examples such as Latin American Spanish – originally a variety of European Andalusian Spanish (Wagner 1920), Canadian French – transplanted European French from Normandy (Rivard 1914), etc. The second one, the identity fallacy, claims that these overseas varieties developed in colonies “as a result of the role of identity” (p. 89). Peter Trudgill presents different cases: colonial Arabic, colonial Norse: Icelandic, colonial English: Ireland, the Iberian reconquest, etc., and discusses the factors that contributed to new-dialect formation.

In the last chapter, “Indo-European feminines: Contact, diffusion and gender loss around the North Sea” (pp. 102-128), the author proceeds to a discussion of the reduction of three genders to two through the loss of the feminine gender in some languages (e.g. Dutch, Norwegian), or, as in the case of English, the complete loss of grammatical gender. The first part of the chapter is devoted to gender reduction in Norwegian, more precisely in the variety spoken in the city of Bergen and the factors that have influenced the loss of the feminine gender. The second part of the chapter focuses on English, and attempts to explain why English lost grammatical gender and why this took place in English but not in the other early medieval Germanic languages. Trudgill

proposes that the gender-loss process was due to language contact and began in the north of England around 900 AD and by 1300 it had already reached the south and then it was lost.

The last chapter is followed by a section entitled “Sources” (p. 129) which contains the journals, books, etc., where the chapters that form this book were previously published. The last section comprises the “References” (pp. 130-151) and an “Index” (pp. 152-164).

Peter Trudgill’s book reunites some of his most important studies concerning language contact and language change. The topics tackled are well-chosen and the arguments are presented in an engaging and thought-provoking way. The style is accessible and easy to follow and each chapter is very well-researched. It is an almost impossible task to try to answer a question like: “What language(s) was/were used in the Palaeolithic, and the Neolithic?” given the scarcity of data and evidence to enable us to draw conclusions. Somehow, not surprisingly, Peter Trudgill succeeds in providing valuable, well-researched and plausible answers. This book represents an important contribution to the field of language contact and language change for which the author deserves ample credit.

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la Tipografia Editurii Universității din București
B-dul Iuliu Maniu, 1-3, Complex Leu
Tel.: 0799 210 566,
E-mail: tipografia.unibuc@unibuc.ro, mihaela.stancu@unibuc.ro